764 inserts them into the deceased's throat; he fills his own mouth with food previously brought forth by a woman and blows until the stomach of the deceased is filled. The rest of the food is placed near the dead man who is lowered into the grave by his sons and daughters. He is laid down on his right side, facing east, in the hole, sele dɛ̃, dug at the bottom of the grave. The two stalks of millet are placed next to him; they are more powerful than the forces of decay and destruction, and affirm the immortality of the ancestors. Together with the corpse, they are the image of the first three who died and the whole expresses the hope of resurrection promised to men.

While songs burst forth in honor of the deceased, the young men cover him with fresh branches before closing the grave; above the grave the masker whistles to proclaim that hereafter it is he who will settle the problems of the dead.

[768] The objects formerly belonging to the deceased, such as bed, mat, pipe, and razor, are then put into a pile with a little bag containing his hair. Fire is set to the pile while the chief of the Komo recites the following prayer: "Let your burned possessions leave to wait /194 before you, let them leave in smoke. We are behind, we are not in front of you; ask happiness for us. Let all the dyo with the pincers and the anvil come, let peace come" (1).

1. I ka fɛ̃ maralew dyenina, n ka ta i kono i nye, m bita ɲiɲi fe, an bi ko an ti nye, i ka here nyini ã nye; ka dyow ani bala ani kula, dũ ka na.

The masker dances about the hearth, whistling and throwing up dust. The children of the deceased who are impregnated with his nyama leap three times over the flame; the force, absorbed by the smoke, is dissipated with it.

The meat of the sacrificed animal is cooked, eaten by the participants, and the containers are broken.

769 Three days after the death, the family goes down to the river bank and throws in the clothing of the deceased as well as a plate of food; both will serve to clothe and feed the double. They then recite the following prayer:

"My father Faro, a person of my family has died, here is his offering of the three days; make him return again in a woman's womb" (2).

invoked is requested or required to act.

There are times when on the contrary, the native is inclined to hold the energy in check, in order to avoid the harm that would result from this sort of action. For this purpose he abstains from doing certain things; this is the origin of many taboos (tne).

The acquisition of magic power in order to gain strength or to be able to act so as to avoid being affected by magic or, finally, to be able to get rid of magic power when one is permeated by it to a dangerous point -- all these involve appropriate actions or rites whose forms and conditions only magicians or others gifted with intuition can determine.

The chronicle shows that chiefs make use of magic to try to strengthen the supernatural power which is the basis of their position. Dina Wara secretly ate a special dish made of a goat's head; Biton took special baths, whose virtues Ngolo appropriated by trickery just as Biton had done with respect to Dina Wara, his brother-in-law. All sorts of comparable practices accounted for the increase of Ngolo's "luck," that modal quality of supernatural power which confers a degree of magic potency on the possessor. This so-called "luck" has, as it were, a kind of radiation, which confers special good fortune on whatever it touches. That is why the marabouts advised Biton to live in close proximity to Ngolo so as to take advantage of the favorable atmosphere.

This energy is attached to everything and, especially, to objects that come into direct contact with anything impregnated with it. What one wears on oneself thus becomes a sort of accumulator, and that is why the objects left upon a powerful person's death are so carefully preserved and constitute the most valuable part of his legacy. The chronicle tells us with what veneration the cap and weapons belonging to Biton were regarded.

Magic force is therefore acquired by means of appropriate practices indicated by magicians; one shares its benefits by living near those entrusted with it by applying to oneself what comes from such privileged persons. Here again is a result of the continuity of matter. Whatever the case, anything

763 deceased in case he had been killed by a genie (nyana). Sacri-
764 fices, alms, or the payment of a fine are necessary in that event, along with intervention by the priest of the nyana in question.

764 Most often, the body is turned over to a priest (nyana-n-tigi) [167] if the deceased was a member of a brotherhood.

[735] In any event, it is customary to give alms at the crossroads near the village.

Further, the death of the fa puts an end (1) to the au-

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1. When a king of Kaarta died, the interruption in sovereignty often gave rise to serious anarchic disturbances.

thority held by him, and this may have serious consequences, since for the moment everyone is virtually independent. That is why the servitor who had the master's confidence and who actually ran the establishment retains his role after taking certain precautions (2). In particular he must make sure that the

2. This was the role that Ngolo Dyâra was seeking when he asked to be placed as "guard at the master's door."

movable property of the deceased is not carried off. He is familiar with these things, and he is the guardian responsible for them. He makes the women return the gold jewelry and valuable fabrics, puts everything in a safe place, and makes an inventory in the presence of the heir presumptive.

764 (b) Burial. The deceased may be buried in the ground within his hut or at least in a corner of his establishment. In former times there was a cemetery outside the village, often near the grove of the nyana dugu-da-siri (guardian genie of the village), and in such cases it was apparent that the more important the deceased, the nearer his tomb to the sacred place.

766 For persons of distinction there is usually a special kind
764 of grave. It is about two meters long, and while the opening

476 The patriarchal community draws its subsistence from
461 this agricultural exploitation, and as a result, a kind of work
567 organization has developed. Patriarchal communities or important families have agricultural land in various regions and these tracts are often far apart. Some members of the com-
[361] munity or a group of slaves are therefore settled in each domain, sometimes on a permanent basis, sometimes for the period of clearing and cultivating the soil, sometimes for the period of harvest.

Theoretically, every member of the community and every slave must work for the community from dawn to around noon every day during the farming season. Two days, however, Monday and Thursday, are given to these persons for work in their own fields. Anyone who cannot or will not work has the right to provide a replacement from among his dependents.

There are, of course, many exceptions to these rules. In the first place, everyone works according to his position. Among the poor, the master works as hard as the slave, if not harder; among people in comfortable circumstances, the master merely controls and directs the work, sometimes reserving a particular job for himself. In important communities, field work [189] is almost exclusively the duty of the slaves, under the surveillance of their leaders and following the orders of the fa, who either supervises it himself or has a member of his entourage do so.

583 Conjugal usufruct. When she marries, a woman is given in
589 usufruct in exchange for the bride price. This usufruct is com-
● 768 munity property exactly like the things used for the bride price.

When a fa dies, the disposal of the conjugal usufruct included in the estate is a serious matter. Since the conjugal usufruct is of the same duration as the life of the woman, the death of the husband has no legal effect on the situation of his spouse. Since it is understood, however, that the widow has no sexual obligations to her husband's heirs, the usufruct is reduced in that respect. Such is the lot of widows when the heirs decide to keep them without marrying them and the women elect to remain.

583 Most often, however, the heirs either marry the widows
589 or send them home, or the women leave of their own volition.
768 An heir who marries a widow of the deceased must take
[587] her back to her family, obtain their consent, and pay them a new bride price, required because a new usufruct is involved. The chronicle of Ségou shows us how this custom operates. Upon the death of Dina Wara, his son escorted to Ségou his father's widow, Biton's sister, whom he wanted to marry. He made sumptuous gifts in order to obtain consent.

In the case of a widow who is sent home or who leaves of her own accord, responsibility for the bride price already paid rests with the party who broke the contract, i.e., with the person who sent the widow away or, if she left of her own accord, with her family. The question of responsibility for the bride price is an important one, since usually neither party has either the means or the desire to make it up. As a result, every effort is made to evade payment, and it is common practice to resort to the most shameless bargaining of the woman involved. A husband is sought who will agree to pay the bride price asked by the one having rights over her, but most often, partial payment will be made when the woman is returned, the creditor's impatience is calmed by gifts, and the balance of the bride price remains wholly or partly unpaid [190] at the time of the debtor's death. This obviously results in insolvable complications during and after the marriage (1).

1. Concerning the lot of widows, see the discussions about the widows of Biton and Ngolo in the chronicle of Ségou.

567 Slaves. Enslavement comes about in many ways, but the
727 three principal ones are force, birth, and the result of obligations.

Force has perhaps been the primary cause of enslavement. A person who surrenders is the chattel of the conqueror, but the treatment given him varies in accordance with his previous situation. Was he a man of position? If he is violent, he is killed or sold; if it is thought that his relatives will pay a high ransom, he is kept. If he is clever enough to arouse sympathy, he often is

583 Finally, if the union is still in effect at the time of the
768 husband's death, the wife's community theoretically regains authority over her, provided that the bride price is paid back.

These three definite points show that lawful union, or
581 marriage, legally speaking, is essentially a kind of usufruct of the
626 woman to the advantage of the husband, and the price is the bride price. As a result, the woman's community is obliged to see to it that the husband enjoys his rights. Hence, when a wife misbehaves, no matter how, the husband reports it to her community which takes steps to bring the erring girl to terms for fear of having to refund the bride price. On the other hand, the husband is expected to treat his wife in a manner worthy of her, that is, with consideration for her origins, and if he fails to do so, he risks the consequences of breach of the marriage contract.

There are, therefore, reciprocal rights and duties required of the spouses. Based on the marriage contract, these rights and duties are reinforced, completed, or, more generally, influenced by ethics no less than by the feelings of the [207] couple in relation to each other and to their respective communities.

581 This is why a girl from a great house with high standing (1)
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1. Thus, in the western Sudan, the daughters of the Massa-si are treated with great deference.

cannot be treated like a common concubine, even though the husband may prefer the concubine to the wife, because the free daughter of a powerful house, richly dowered, is virtually independent in the household. If she is sufficiently well off, she may even live in a house of her own, and since her only obligation is the sexual conjugal duty, she receives her husband as she would a lover.

On the other hand the free woman of modest circumstances and, even more, of lowly birth is her husband's companion in wretchedness. She does all kinds of work, even the hardest and most disagreeable, and she desires no rupture that would deprive her of the only affection that sustains her, the love of her children.

429 A person who is away for a long or indefinite period [217] delegates the direction of the family community for as long as necessary to a friend or relative. This substitute, however, is expected to act only in accordance with the customary counsel and the family of the absent person.

[586] In case of divorce, the children always remain with the father. A divorced woman again comes under the guardianship of her own community.

768 When the mother dies, the father retains the administration of her property which belongs jointly to her children. If, 429 however, one of her sons is married or of marriageable age and is competent, all such property is supposed to be handed over to him to administer in his capacity as fa of the uterine community.

When a father dies, his minor children are placed under the guardianship of the patriarch under whose authority the deceased was living. If he was independent, guardianship would be set up in accordance with his wishes which he would not have failed to make known.

In any event, if one of his sons is married or of marriageable age and sufficiently competent, he becomes fa of the familial community which gradually, as the younger sons grow up and establish families of their own, becomes a patriarchy such as we have described above.

[641] According to native law, deprivation of civil rights does not exist. In fact, however, persons who by reason of ill-health or senility are unable to comply with custom in carrying out their functions are supplanted by such persons as are designated by custom to replace them at the time of death.

596 Faya. The faya is the authority and power of the fa 614 over all his dependents. It has the same character, differing only in extent, whether it concerns a familial or a patriarchal community.

Familial faya. Within the family, the fa theoretically has complete authority over everything that constitutes this community. It makes little difference whether he acts on his own initiative or whether he allows himself to be swayed by the

*173 In principle, it did not interfere with anything that was
04 not contrary to its own interests, and within those limits it allowed the conquered peoples to live as they pleased. In regions under its control, however, its operations were not without influence, and it employed measures analogous in every way to those applied by the clan of Ségou.

Organization and Operation

766 The following description of the funeral of a Massa-si
64 fama and the installation ceremonies for his successor will show us the principal customs and important personages in action.

[768] When the fama dies, the leader of the slaves assumes command of the royal household; he has all the doors watched and summons the wives of the deceased and takes their jewels and any other objects of value. He places all the valuables in a hut, and he himself keeps the key.

While this is going on, the war drums (tabala) are broken, and the sofa are dispatched to inform members of the family.

When the heir presumptive arrives, the leader of the slaves shows him the body of the deceased, so he can officially identify it, and the collection of valuables so he will know that they have not disappeared. The sofa are then sent to the capital to announce the death of the fama in order that everyone will bring an offering for the funeral ceremonies. The gifts of food will be used for the funeral banquets, and the other gifts (silver, horses, fabrics, etc.) will become part of the royal treasure, even though they are theoretically supposed to be used as alms for the poor.

The body is washed, wrapped in a shroud, and then buried. Burial usually takes place within the royal house, at the place where the deceased liked to sit. If he is interred in the floor of a hut, the hut is abandoned after its door has been walled up.

The door of the central redoubt (tata) is also walled up, and a new opening is made.

562 When the husband dies, the wives are considered the principal
428 wealth of the heir. Among certain Bambara, the wives are divided
768 among the brothers; the eldest brother chooses and then has the other
587 brothers choose in order of age. Among others, the heritage goes to the children who must ally themselves with their father's wives. The wives who do not want to remain with the heir have the option of returning to their families, providing the settlement is returned.

428 The wife may have personal property given to her by her
562 parents at the time of marriage. Among certain Bambara, the father of the bride must give her the settlement paid by the husband, and this becomes her personal property. When a widow dies, all of her goods go to her eldest son; if there is no son, half of her goods goes to her daughters, and the other half is divided among her father, her mother, and her brother. When a married woman dies without children, her goods are divided between her husband and her father; if she no longer has her father, half goes to her husband and the other half to her brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, we have seen how a woman may inherit all of the wealth of a family head, and even of a chief, in default of male heirs, and the Mali empire had a woman Keïta at its head, daughter of Naré, fa Maghan.

562 A woman must not take part in any political discussion or
662 demonstration, which does not mean that her role in these matters is nil. All the history of Mali is full of palace intrigues which reach their acute stage at the moment of a Fama's death and of the election of a new chief. It is at this moment that the women knew how to throw into the balance all the weight of their family's power to determine the new election.

562 Finally, we have seen that in a fashion parallel to the male
561 brotherhoods and societies, the women were organized into powerful
575 hierarchical societies according to their age classes and their degree of initiation. These societies, where men do not enter, are still imperfectly known, but they are at least as formidable as the male brotherhoods.

562 The woman must pound the millet, draw water, and carry out all the household chores, but when the man kills an animal, the meat belongs to the wife, and the man must accept in turn what she will give him.

765 Malakou, salakou
Fari ɔ, fari doun ka di." (2)

2. A song heard in Bani country. Since these songs are often improvised, they differ from one region to another.

Translation: "Ah! how pleasant it is to eat mashed beans (fari) and to eat all one's fill, ah! how pleasant it is to eat mashed beans!"

The excised daughters and grandaughters of the deceased wear mourning for about eight to ten days. During this time they stay in the b'lon, or entry hut, and spin cotton. The only noteworthy fact [513 514] is that they all sleep in the same hut and attend to the wants of nature at set times, going to the bush evening and morning in Indian file with white veils on their heads. For the whole moon following the [293] death, the wife (the wives if the old man was polygamous) of the deceased wear sandals of goatskin and go out dressed only in white.

● 718 562 428 At the end of the moon, the wives of the deceased become the property of the head of the family, who makes them his own or gives them to his circumcised children (3). Some freedom is left to them,

3. Brothers succeed brothers. If there are no brothers, the oldest son inherits. If the deceased is younger than the brother who inherits, the latter possesses the wives but may not enjoy them. If the heir is the son of the deceased, all the father's or grandfather's wives belong to him, and he may enjoy them all except his mother.

for they can ransom themselves if they wish, and for the old and worn, difficulties are soon smoothed away. If the new family head is without a brother and without children or if he is older than the deceased,

the women belong to him but he cannot make them his own. From then on they remain without husbands unless they ransom themselves, and they quickly become soungourou (4). /224/

4. Soungourou, a woman who gives herself to the first comer.

Burials of the Second Category, Those of Heads of Families

Having described the respects paid to old people, that is, to grandfathers, I now need only proceed by elimination and say which of the procedures listed are not included in the burials of other persons. The honors paid to the gouatigi, or head of the family, whether or not he is married, are identical, or almost identical, to those paid to old people. But if he is not a hunter and none of his children is an initiate of the sect, his death is not announced by gunshots. Moreover, there are no dances except for the djansa, held evening and morning for three days, nor does anyone come at the time when the body is removed to the cemetery to accuse or excuse himself for a lack of respect or consideration toward the deceased. Through the intermediary of the herald or of the person in charge of the funeral ceremonies, each pays his respects and his few cowrie shells, and, after a pardon is asked on behalf of all, the prayer is said.

If he dies childless or is laid in the grave on a Wednesday or Saturday, unlucky days, the deceased gouatigi receives a white pullet to pay the spirits for his welcome as he enters Lahara, and he receives it alive. If a wife of a gouatigi is buried on an unlucky day or dies without having given birth to a child (1), an egg of a brooding hen is

1. If a woman dies after all her children, but has given birth to a child and nursed it, she does not fall into this category. It is a disgrace to receive a hen's egg because one has not had children. The rule is the same for men.

[558]